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ABSTRACT

This report is an attempt at revising the 1961 Fife-Nelsen report's list of priority African languages. In making decisions regarding priorities, the following kinds of data are considered most useful: statistical data on the languages involved, such as where the languages are spoken and how many people speak them; data on the cultural role of language; and information on the existing tools of access, such as bibliographies, surveys, and special studies. Several sources of statistical data, which give conflicting pictures of the situation, were used in compiling the list. Appendix 1 lists the selected languages along with statistical data on population, languages, and number of speakers. African countries are seen to be increasingly involved in language description. literacy programs, materials collection, and indigenous language study programs. Similarly, the linguistic literature has increased enormously, although most of it is considered marginally useful. Appendix 2 is a bibliography of resource materials intended as a supplement to existing ones. Suggestions for language planning are given by area, with the headings North Africa, East Africa, Southern Africa, and West Africa. Finally, it is suggested that dictionaries, basic courses, and intermediate and advanced materials constitute the most viable approach to the preparation of tools of access in language planning. (AM)

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RECONSIDERATION OF LANGUAGE PRIORITIES:

AFRICA

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1. Introduction

The Fife-Nielsen report with its list of priority languages has served very well in providing guidelines since 1961. On the whole, the African languages felt to be important then are important now. The sixteen criteria set forth (180 fn. 3) are still valid, though one might rephrase and reorder them. The conference on which the report was based also recommended "periodic revision of the list", adding languages if they have in the meantime become priority items and removing languages in which "sufficient people have been trained and adequate materials have been prepared" (180).

To this end the present work paper is directed. It has taken the broad view that in reconsidering priorities the entire African language situation should be re-examined. While it is manifestly impossible to go into detail on all 1,741 languages (number from Grimes 1974; to be reduced on deletion of duplication across country lines?), it was felt that presentation should be made of a more representative picture of the multilingual situation. The language list in 2. is therefore based on those with 50,000 or more speakers.

The second factor to be taken into account is the availability of personnel and materials in the relevant languages. The materials aspect is one not only of bibliography but also of judgment with regard to the individual items. The Provisional Survey of Materials for the Study of Neglected Languages is here

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supplemented by a bibliography of more recent work, arranged by language name, on the African languages listed in the Fife-Nielsen report. This was done under the direction of Jean E. Meeh Gosebrink, for African Studies, Indiana University, whose major contribution to this paper is gratefully acknowledged. These and any supplementary lists which are available should serve as the basis for the judgment of the conferences.

It would, of course, be desirable to have such bibliography on each language which may be considered for priority listing, in addition to those previously selected. This was not feasible in the time available. I am therefore very appreciative of the list of Bantu languages furnished by Erhard Voeltz which includes his estimates regarding the amount of material available in each. He also provided some material for the major language data list (abbreviation V). Special thanks are also due to Charles S. Bird for information on West Africa (abbreviation B).

2. The data

The following kinds of data are those most useful in making decisions re priorities:

2.1 Statistical data

2.1.1 The languages involved

2.1.2 Where these languages are spoken

2.1.3 How many speakers are there of each

2.1.3.1 As first language

2.1.3.2 As additional language

2.2 Cultural role of language

2.2.1 Extent of usage

2.2.1.1 International

2.2.1.2 National

2.2.1.3 Regional

2.2.2 Role within area of use

2.2.2.1 Official status

2.2.2.2 Educational use

2.2.2.3 Relative dominance areally

2.2.2.4 Specialized usage, such as lingua franca or contact language

2.3 Existing tools of access

2.3.1 Bibliographies

2.3.2 The linguistic literature

2.3.2.1 Surveys and classificatory treatments

2.3.2.2 Treatments of segments of the language and other specialized studies

2.3.2.3 Practical tools

2.1 Statistical data

The available statistics on African languages vary greatly as regards adequate coverage and reliability. The appended list is compiled from several sources, none of which agrees with the others. In many cases one of several comparable figures was chosen, in others alternate figures are quoted.

The major sources, with comments, are:

Grimes, Joseph E. Word Lists and Languages (Technical Report No. 2. Report to the National Science Foundation on Grant GS-31295 and Grant GS-1605.) Ithaca: Cornell University.

Abbreviation: G. For the purposes of compiling the present list, this was the most useful of the sources. One must understand clearly the nature of the data contained (e.g. not confusing total numbers of speakers

with the population of the country involved). Frequently there are no data on the number of speakers of a given language within the country--only an estimated total of all speakers. This lack of data re the individual country is often reflected in the list below, though where other data were available, these were used. It is to be hoped that anyone having data which will supplement or correct those in Grimes will send them to him.

Morrison, Donald George; Robert Cameron Mitchell, John Naber Paden and Hugh Michael Stevenson. Black Africa: A Comparative Handbook. New York: Collier-Macmillan.

Abbreviation: M. This was very useful for the countries it covers for population figures, official languages, lingua francas and some language data. His data on languages are not very detailed and his divisions of the population are 'ethnic'. This is explained as being groups which are culturally similar. In many cases these groups also speak linguistically similar languages; in others not. His data were often useful when culture coincided with language. Even here, however, his groupings were generally to be equated with language or dialect clusters rather than individual languages. Percentages of speakers vis-à-vis the total population are mostly from M.

These two were the major sources. Supplementary information came from: Africa South of the Sahara: 1973. 1973. London: Europa Publications.

Abbreviation: A.

Legum, Colin; Elizabeth Clements and Richard Synge, eds. 1973. Africa Contemporary Record. Annual Survey and Documents 1972-1973. New York: Africana Publishing Company.

Abbreviation: L.

Welmers, William E. 1971. 'Checklist of African Language and Dialect Names' Current Trends in Linguistics 7: Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa, ed. by T. A. Sebeok et al, pp. 759-900. The Hague: Mouton.

Abbreviation: W. This is one of the major sources (but by no means the only one) of the African language data in G.

Voegelin, C. F. and F. M. Voegelin. 1973. Index of the World's Languages. 6 parts. (Final Report. Contract No. OEC-0-9-097717-1252 (014). USOE, Bureau of Research.) Bloomington: Indiana University.

Abbreviation: VV. Both a list of names, with variants (as also W) and classificatory articles on groups of related languages. A revision and rearrangement of data earlier published in Anthropological Linguistics, this is shortly to be superseded by a further published, revision.

Some primary statistical data were available but these were for the most part old. A few figures are from:

Gabon. Service National de la Statistique. Annuaire Statistique, 1964.

Abbreviated: 1964 G.

France: Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques, Etude Demographique du Niger. 2eme fascicule. 1963.

Abbreviation: 1963N.

For convenience of reference the detailed list is appended. See Appendix 1.

2.2 The cultural role of the languages

This section will not follow the outline given above seriatim but will discuss the subject as a whole, with obvious application to the

relevant categories given there.

2.2.1 A Nigerian example.

A recent article (Adekunle 1972) treats the language situation in Nigeria in a way which is extremely useful. Drawing upon, and adapting, classifications proposed by William Stewart and Charles A. Ferguson, he illustrates how the languages of Nigeria may be considered from the functional point of view. For our purposes here I have modified his scheme in non-essential ways. His categories are:

Broad usage categories

A Major languages spoken widely or fairly widely outside the mother tongue area. Lingua francas to a greater or lesser extent.

B Not much used outside mother tongue area but officially recognized as important for disseminating official information by the national government.

C Minor languages of regional importance, especially at the state level.

D Minor languages important at both the divisional and provincial levels, but not at the state level.

Standard language varieties

S-1 Languages in which original research or translations and resumes of scientific work originally written in other languages are regularly published.

S-2 Languages used for normal written purposes (personal letters, periodicals and newspapers, original writing).

S-3 Languages in which some religious and educational materials

are published. Grammar and orthography standardized. Written form used for personal correspondence and for government notices at the provincial level.

Official language categories

O-1 Language of administration at the national level.

O-2 Languages used for official notices, on radio and television by national governments, in courts and other government offices with translation in O-1.

O-3 Other languages used as official media of information and administration--below the national level.

Other language types

C Classical (e.g. Arabic, Latin). Mainly religious languages.

V Vernacular languages.

P Pidgin.

Other functional categories:

G Language of an ethnic group.

E Language used as medium of instruction at any level of education (excluding C above).

F Language taught in school as foreign language.

L Language used for literary works.

R Language used in religious worship.

I Contact language, Interethnic communication other than O-1.

(I would recommend another category: S Indigenous language taught as school subject.)

Adekunle is well aware of the fact that there is overlap in these functions, but believes this is necessary 'to bring out a realistic picture of the language situation' (201).

Using these categories Adekunle chooses a few representative languages to give a 'sociolinguistic profile of Nigeria' (202). This is (again with some minor modifications):

Categories/ Language	S	O	C	V	P	G	E	F	L	R	I
1. English	S-1	O-1					E		L		
2. Arabic			C					F		R	
3. Latin			C					F		R	
4. Pidgin English					P						I
5. French	S-1							F			
Nigerian languages											
6. Class A	S-2	O-2 O-3				G	E				I
7. Class B	S-3	O-2 O-3				G	E				
8. Class C	S-3	O-3				G					
9. Class D				V		G					

Examples:

Class A: Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo

Class B: Efik, Fula, Edo (Bini), Idoma, Ijo, Kanuri

Class C: Tiv, Urhobo, Jukun, Nupe

Class D: Ogoni, Boki, Gwari, Gejawa, Gade, Ketab

(As an appendix he gives 180 languages listed by Nigerian states, with the Greenberg classification indicated.)

Adekunle's presentation is given in some detail as it may serve as a discussion basis for the languages not only of Nigeria but of other countries as well. It would be most helpful to have such outlines for all of Africa.

There have been some major survey efforts, such as the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa. Supported by the Ford Foundation, this began in 1968.

2.2.2 Sociolinguistics and national language policies

Sociolinguistics has as a discipline tended to go beyond a strictly linguistic descriptive role and become involved with the implications of linguistic usage and changes which may be brought about by decisions made about language.

Whiteley (1973) has given us a good, brief, statement of the principles involved, with illustrations from East Africa. As he points out, official decisions on language are more often than not made without consulting linguists. (Neither are linguists consulted on language change, judginization, dialect development or other phenomena. The linguist's role is, as noted above, basically a descriptive one.)

There are, of course, important exceptions. UNESCO has been active in the formation of language policy in West Africa. Following a conference in 1966 on the international unification of African orthographies, five international languages were selected for literacy projects: Hausa, Tamasheq, Songhai, Fula and Bambara (Mandingo). This effort is still continuing. One effect has been the use of several of these as official languages in various West African countries (e.g. Mali: Tamasheq, Songhai, Fula and Bambara; reflected in list to 2.1 above). This important effort has had other effects. It has pointed up in a striking way the desperate need for accurate and comprehensive dialect work in the area. The literacy program has also met a major stumbling block in the lack of

reading materials available in most of the languages. (The situation is better in Hausa than the other languages.) In Niger there is an important center in operation in Niamey for the collecting of materials.

Ghana and Nigeria both have very active programs for the study of indigenous languages. (For Ghana see Dakubu 1971.). Dahomey and Togo are interested in literacy programs. The linguist sees these efforts as a very necessary response to the needs of the multilingual society, where literacy is complicated by the natural desire of people for the use of their own language coupled by the necessity of the use of a broader vehicle of communication. It is seen by others in political terms (cf. Branner 1967). Legum (1973: xiv-xv) has this to say:

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The list of countries could, of course, be multiplied. Obviously deliberations regarding language priorities must consider the present cultural role of each language. The implications are two-edged: (1) the attention presently given to a language by national and international interests increases the importance of that language in its culture and therefore makes its study by scholars in the United States more urgent (2) the fact that the countries of Africa are themselves working on descriptions of their languages and developing some tools of access decreases the need for the U.S. to do much of the basic work.

There is, of course, no danger that the work will all be done before we get our decisions made! Quintupling our efforts we might, along with our African confrercs, succeed in getting a clear picture of the 1,741 languages in the next fifty years. And that is precisely why we should be careful not to duplicate effort.

2.3 Existing tools of access

A number of African bibliographies now exist and are, of course, a very welcome aid to the researcher on the languages and linguistics of

of the area. While part of our resource material, I refrain from listing them.

The linguistic literature has increased enormously, but most of it is of marginal practical use. Linguists have never been noted for their lucidity, but the present trend in linguistic theory has considerably hampered and delayed advances in essential linguistic descriptive work. This has not been a necessary consequence; it is simply a fact. (See also below under Goals.)

Due in very large part to support from the Office of Education a great deal of very useful material has been prepared. This support has in many cases meant intellectual independence for the researcher despite the prevailing theoretical atmosphere.

As noted in the Introduction, the bibliography presented here is meant to be a supplement to existing ones, providing the conference with a good idea of present resources in the African languages set as priorities in 1961. See Appendix 2.

3. Goals

We should not lose sight of our actual primary goal: inter-personal and, by extension, international understanding (Fife-Nielsen 1961: 180 fn. 3, [1]). Such a goal is best attained by a kind of ideal combination of linguistic, cultural anthropological and sociological approaches. It is, however, necessary to avoid the obscurantism too often associated with linguistics and sociology. The practical must be paramount.

In rethinking our goals it is essential that we consider not only of the needs and wishes of the American community but of the needs and wishes of the African communities involved. The previous criteria for setting priorities

recognized national languages and others of cultural importance in their society, and one could understand this to imply that our priorities would therefore parallel their priorities. This is, of course, not necessarily so, and our reassessment should include consideration of their view on language matters, where known, and criteria should be developed which have built-in flexibility to accomodate changes made by them during the period in which the revised list is in effect.

It is understood by us that any work done in Africa on African languages is done with the sufferance of the country involved. If there are differences between our priorities and theirs, we must be sure that the reasons for our choice are absolutely clear. There is no assurance that we can work whenever we please on a given language in situ, as it were, but if our reasons are overt and consistently maintained, the opportunity may come at a later time.

None of this is to be interpreted as anticipating obstruction but only as emphasizing the importance both of national sovereignty and of cooperating with the various countries with regard to language work in general. For some statements by Africanists relative to these matters see Lystad 1969, West 1969, Stevens 1972.

The Fife-Nielsen report includes both a very broadly-based set of sixteen criteria and a narrow set of principles (180). The latter endorse the list and stress those languages with the largest number of speakers. Despite the inclusion of '(5) advancement of linguistic science' among the criteria, this was only lip service to a specialized need. Most of the criteria were very practical ones.

When a list is an official one, sponsored by the U. S. Government and subject both to public and congressional scrutiny, such criteria seem to be

necessary. In reconsidering the list, however, we should broaden our view, setting up not only lists of languages but criteria by which a given language not on a list may be considered of priority. That is, we must allow for changing circumstances.

Several factors indicate that establishment of criteria are just as important as decisions regarding specific languages. The changing political scene is an obvious one. A language should automatically change in priority status if it becomes an official language or that of the ruling group.

The second factor is the changing role of secondary languages within a country. (See the quote from Legum 1973 in 2.2.1 above.) The criteria determining the choice of a language for use in the schools may not be the same as our criteria, but the fact that a language is used in primary and/or secondary education should be one of our criteria. We should thus be considering the cultural role of the language on a sub-national level as of more importance than numbers of speakers.

The third factor is the changing number of speakers and physical location of speakers due to political or economic events. The years since 1961 have witnessed loss of lives and displacement of speakers in the millions. The pure linguist--that is, the linguist interested in language per se without regard to political or theoretical considerations--views such events with dismay. Without minimizing the concern for human suffering, the linguist is concerned for the loss of linguistic and historical data. I do not know whether the study of an endangered language can be considered as of governmental priority. It should be considered as linguistic priority--overriding political and theoretical interests.

It may justifiably be argued that it is not the province of the U. S. Government to see to the preservation of every endangered language on the face of the earth. Were we even to attempt such a policy, it would mean in many cases interference in the internal affairs of other nations. I do not therefore propose that we have an automatic priority label for endangered languages, but I would like to see this conference recognize the importance of this problem and recommend that action be taken. The appropriate body for such action would vary according to circumstance, but primary responsibility should lie with the individual country. Our responsibility would be to encourage the training of linguists native to each country into whose hands such salvage work could be entrusted. It may be noted that with the current ferment in the discipline of linguistics, useful training along these lines has become increasingly difficult to find. A theoretically neutral frame of reference needs to be devised to prevent the presentation of the near-extinct language in a near-extinct theoretical garb.

Far more important than the number of speakers listed should be the realization that many of these references are not languages but clusters of languages. The probability or possibility that this is so is (sometimes) indicated by a (c) in the list. This points up a major problem facing the investigator, one which must be reflected in our tools of access: the identification of the precise nature of the language in question. We need to know not only where a language is spoken and by how many speakers but also the homogeneity or lack of it found. Is it (1) a group of closely related languages, (2) a speech-area with mutual intelligibility for continuous and near segments but with communication difficulties increasing with distance? Is there a recognized standard for the speech area or is it a 'dialect cluster'

(Westermann-Bryan 1952: 7)? Or is there movement toward a standard, as in the case of Igbo, with none as yet established? (See also below under Tools of Access.)

Scholastic pursuits may themselves be divided into two major groups: (1) linguistic and (2) cultural (including anthropology, history, etc.). This division is not as artificial as it would appear. The basis for it lies in the use of the language. The linguistic approach sees the description of the languages and their relationships as an end in themselves. The cultural approaches use the language as a tool, an instrument of access.

The linguistic study is itself by no means a unit, and it is normally the prerequisite for cultural use of the data. From any point of view accurate linguistic description is the sine qua non for others' utilization of language materials. What needs to be carefully defined here is what kind of linguistic description is most useful for the purposes with which we are here concerned. The experience of the past thirteen years has brought out some aspects of the situation which were insufficiently considered by persons investigating a 'language'. Individual researchers have often been aware of these problems but have lacked the money and opportunity to deal with them properly.

The first of these is the close definition of the language to be investigated. Examination of the literature shows very clearly that there is often little understanding of the role played by any particular language variety (see above 2.2). While generalization is inaccurate description, it may well be safely said that many linguists have lacked the necessary cultural awareness to choose and describe the language variety most needed. One should set criteria not only for determining what languages are to be investigated but also what kind of linguist should be considered as most likely to produce

useful material. Cultural understanding of the situation should be a prime criterion. Another should be--in the case of grammars, dictionaries and other basic tools of access--a practical orientation in the case of synchronic study of the language.

The fundamental goals should be descriptive: dialects, speech areas, inter-language contacts. One may also describe the genetic relationships of the languages, though this cannot be said to have practical value. It is of great interest to historians, and there has been considerable criticism of the over-hasty use by them of linguistic hypotheses of relationship (Dalby 1970: vii-xvii). One may deplore even more the practice of comparative linguistics with ulterior motives (such as 'proving' that such-and-such a language is related to Ancient Egyptian, thus acquiring a species of [or specious] genealogical respectability).

The problem of genetic classification has, however, loomed large in linguistic work. The overall pattern established by Greenberg is used by Welmers (1971), Voegelin-Voegelin (1973) and Grimes (1974). It is not unchallenged, nor should it be. Dalby has endeavored to promote a less committed grouping of languages (1971; see also our reference A, pp. 26-27). It is not in our interest here to pursue the debate but only to note that the problems involved affect certain scholastic priorities.

The fact that so few African languages have been recorded for any length of time does not preclude their intensive study from a comparative point of view. In fact, it is possible to combine the study of languages having a very shallow time depth with languages of greater depth. For example, while Bantu has been recorded to any extent only for a few hundred years, there are Ethiopic records for over 1500 years and Berber (Libyan) inscriptions of even

greater age (cf. Bynon 1970: 67-68). The comparison of the entire family (or phylum) of languages to which Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic, and Berber belong (all of these either in or represented in Africa), yields the greatest reconstructable time depth of any language group known (Afroasiatic or Lisramic). Records of languages of this group (Akkadian, Egyptian) are among the oldest written records extant. The Africanist therefore has the unique opportunity of testing hypotheses concerning historical and comparative linguistics with knowledge furnished from study of these widely differing attestations (temporally speaking).

It is clear from this brief statement that a language such as Dulbu, listed by Grimes as having 80 speakers, may be very interesting to the student of Afroasiatic (Lisramic). Perhaps of equal interest would be Dumi, with 600 speakers, the affiliation of which to other languages is unknown. We cannot set such languages up here at the conference table as of top priority. We should devise criteria which would include them, given sufficient justification.

4. Suggestions and Recommendations by Area

Areas will be treated as defined by Legum 1973.

4.1 North Africa (Map: Legum 1973: B118)

Countries: Spanish Sahara, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan.

Languages: see Appendix 1 for details. The major language over the area is Arabic. In the west Berber languages are important. In Sudan nearly fifty per cent of the people (pre-civil war estimates) speak languages other than Arabic.

Comments and recommendations: Arabic has received considerable attention and far more is available in the way of tools of access than was the case in 1961. Not enough has been done in some areas (e.g. Sudan Arabic), but it is probable that work in the Arab field will continue to a large extent on its own. It is therefore recommended that certain of the Berber languages be given priority and selected languages of southern Sudan. Shilha and Tamasheq (Touareg) are natural Berber candidates, particularly in view of the importance of Tasasheq south of the Sahara as well.

In setting up priorities in Berber, one must recognize that these are not for the purposes of short-range diplomatic or business purposes. French and Arabic cover such needs in, say, Morocco and Algeria. It is, rather, that we must recognize that the Berbers are a significant segment of the population of the area (about 20% according to Gallagher 1968: 131). Their languages need to be studied whether there is a continued erosion of their linguistic status or a movement toward a Berber cultural renaissance. In the one case our primary aim would be a contribution to linguistic knowledge; in the other we would be well prepared to understand the current political and social situation. In this regard one may note the unrest associated with Spanish Sahara, where much of the population consists of 'nomadic tribes'. Legum's recent paragraph on population reads:

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(Legum 1973: B122.)

Selection of Sudanic languages for priority is more of a problem and also involves diplomacy. The civil war in Sudan was in large part due to a policy of Arabization and Islamization. The present government, while in general placating the south, has made recent pro-Arab language statements. Legum says, 'The sensitive issue of language was handled by a compromise. Arabic is recognized as the countries official language, but English is accepted as the "working language" of the South' (Legum 1973: B98). On the other hand, 'Statements such as that by the Minister of Education, Dr. Mohi Eddin Saber, on 16 August [1972] that Arabic will become the most widely used language in Southern Region schools by 1974, may prove controversial' (Legum 1973: B101). It remains quite unknown what effects the civil war had on the language situation in the south. Legum reports (1973: B100) that there were an estimated 176,900 refugees abroad and 150,000 within Sudan. It is obviously a sensitive issue, but it does appear to be an area where more accurate linguistic information would be of benefit to all concerned. (For a pre-civil war tribal map see Barbour 1961: 76).

4.2 East Africa

Countries: Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Somali Democratic Republic, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia.

Languages: see Appendix 1 for details. This group of countries includes a diverse set of languages, part of which--Bantu--are best treated

together with those of other areas.

Insufficient work has been done on Malagasy, which should remain on the priority list.

Considerable work has been done on the languages of Ethiopia and Somalia, but the job is so enormous that some priorities should be assigned here. Of the Semitic languages Tigrinya should now be given priority over Amharic, due to the amount of material presently available for the latter. Bender reports (personal communication) that 'Tigrinya is the only other Ethiopian language which is moderately well standardized and in regular written use'. Gurage, which consists of seven mutually unintelligible languages, also needs investigation.

While considerable survey work has been done, and there are specialized monographs on a number of Ethiopian languages, it would be appropriate to give some priority to certain of the Cushitic and Omotic groups. One might suggest Oromo and Afar-Saho of the former group, Welamo (=Ometo, a cluster of closely related dialects) from the latter.

The rest of the countries are primarily Bantu in language, as are most of those in Central and Southern Africa. The problem of the study of Bantu is so large that all of the projected forthcoming resources could easily be spent in this area alone. As a basis for recommendations in Bantu the following list of 84 languages is submitted. This was prepared by Erhard Voeltz, a Bantuist at Indiana University. It is arranged by Guthrie's 'zones', each one of the latter being represented. The study of these languages will therefore cover the Bantu linguistic spectrum as projected by Guthrie. (This is not to endorse his classification but to provide a set of languages reasonably representative of the whole family.)

Voeltz has given his estimate of the amount of material available for each language, a linguistic priority for more work being set accordingly:

	High Priority Little or no data	Middle Priority Some Grammatical Information	Low(er) Priority At least some teaching materials
Lundu		X	
Duala		X	
Benga		X	
Basa		X	
Fa	X		
Yambasa	X		
Yaunde (Bulu)		X	X
Ngumba		X	
Yaka (Kakɔ)	X		
Mpongwe		X	
Ngɔm	X		
Tsogo		X	
Punu	X		
Nzebi (Njabi)	X		
Mbete		X	
Teke	X		
Mfinu	X		
Ngundi	X		
Akwa, Mboshi	X		
Ntomba, Bolia, Dzanba		X	

Ngɔmbe		X	
Soko, Kele	X		
Lomongo		X	X
Tetela		X	
Bushong		X	
Enya, Zimba	X		
Lega		X	
Nyali	X		
Nyanja		X	
Bembe	X		
Rundi		X	
Ganda		X	X
Haya, Ziba	X		
Luhya		X	
Gusii		X	
Kikuyu			X
Hai, Chaga		X	
Pokomo		X	
Tongwe	X		
Sukuma		X	
Rimi		X	
Kagulu		X	
Shambala		X	
Zigula		X	
Swahili		X	X
Pogono	X		

Hehe	X		
Kongo		X	X
Mbundu		X	
Hungu	X		
Mbala		X	
Lwena (Luvale)		X	
Lozi		X	
Luyana		X	
Subiya	X		
Pende	X		
Songe		X	
Luba			X
Kaonde		X	
Lunda		X	
Nkoya	X		
Mambwe		X	
Nyiha		X	
Konde		X	
Bemba		X	
Lamba		X	
Ila		X	
Matengo	X		
Tumbuka		X	
Chewa		X	X
Nsenga		X	
Matumbi		X	

Yao		X	
Makua		X	
Mbundu		X	
Kwanyama		X	
Herero		X	
Yeye (Kuba)	X		
Shona		X	X
Venda		X	
Sotho		X	
Zulu, Xhosa		X	X
Tswa		X	
Gitonga		X	

The importance of Swahili has increased over the past few years (cf. Harries 1968). Along with this broadening of its usage have also come a number of texts to help in studying it. A conference at Michigan State University regarding the status of Swahili teaching materials agreed on the need for a variety of texts but faced the problem that a number of schools where Swahili was in demand would not use texts prepared by whites. Whether this expression of racism--or the demand for Swahili in such schools--still exists I don't know. In any case it complicates the work of a fair employment government agency.

Due to the increase in Swahili materials, it is recommended that priority be given in this area to a study of the types of Swahili spoken in different areas. Some literature on this exists but an overall statement based on a consistent dialect study does not to my knowedge exist (cf. Harries 1968: 427-28). (Note, however, that the role Swahili plays

is now more dependent on government decisions than on general communication factors. For example, see Welime's remarks regarding Kenya in 1970; at the end of the students' four year course, there is no sector--private or public--in which a knowledge of Swahili is an advantage' [apud Gorman 1970: 139].)

With regard to local educational problems in general, it is relevant to quote Bagunywa:

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(Bagunywa apud Gorman 1970: 28). This is a precise parallel to the West African situation as reported by Bird (p.c.).

4.3 Southern Africa

Countries: Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa, South West Africa (Namibia), Swaziland, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique.

Languages: see Appendix 1 for details and above for Bantu. This area also includes the so-called click languages (Khoisan in Greenberg terminology).

The situation in South Africa and South West Africa is complex both politically and linguistically. Priorities are recommended both for Bantu languages (see above) and Khoisan or click languages. The importance of both seems clear, although from the point of view of relative national significance and of numbers of speakers some may question priorities given to Khoisan. The Bantu languages suggested above for priority consideration include most of those spoken in Bantu homelands in South Africa: Xhosa (Transkei, Ciskei), Zulu (KwaZulu), Sotho (N.: Lebowa; S: Bosotho (Qwaqwa), Venda (VhaVenda).

The complexity of the situation raises questions as to the feasibility of the use of some of these languages even should facilities be made available. One American ethnomusicologist had difficulty recently finding a place in Lesotho where he could stay and work. As a white he was under strong suspicion and unwelcome. The various cultural and political pressures have varying effects upon the attitudes of the black South Africans toward the use of their own languages. Pierre van den Berghe points out the contrast between the more cosmopolitan attitudes of the South African black power movements and those elsewhere, which put more stress on indigenous cultures (1968). The deliberate stressing of the latter by the South African government makes the situation even more anomalous.

Despite these problems it is recommended that priorities include both Bantu and Khoisan languages of the area. There are 'homelands' for several of the latter group--Bushmenland and Namaland in South West Africa (A: 839). The number of speakers is not large for any single language. From the linguistic point of view, on the other hand, some priority should be assigned. As a general recommendation languages representing each of the seven subgroups may be listed:

1. Nama, Hottentot, Korana, Gemsbok Nama (Bushman)
2. !xũ
3. ǂhŭa
4. !wi
5. Kwadi
6. Hatsa
7. Sandawe

4.4 Central Africa

Countries: Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Zaire.

Languages: see Appendix 1 and the Bantu list (under 4.2). This area reaches into Lalby's 'fragmentation belt' with its resulting complexity.

Several Bantoid groups in Cameroon should be considered for priority. Two of these with very little work done on them are Mbam-Nkan (usually called Bamileke) and Tikar.

While Arabic as a whole has lost priority status certain dialects remain insufficiently researched. Chad Arabic is one of these. It could be that fewer tools of access need to be available for such a variety of a well-known language. A thorough survey of spoken Arabic overall would be a very useful tool and would serve to indicate more clearly the kinds of problems to be met in Chad Arabic, Sudan Arabic, Mauretanian, etc. This is not to say that no materials exist in these but that a survey with a coordinated concept of all Arabic would make clearer the value of the work which has already been done.

Southern Chad is in some respects comparable to southern Sudan--non-Arab and not exactly pro-Arab. Of the major languages there Sara and Kanuri still stand out. Materials are available in Sara Ngambai, but a dialect/language survey is in order. Kanuri is being worked on and should be given priority.

4.5 West Africa

Countries: Dahomey, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Upper Volta.

Languages: see Appendix 1.

These countries present the greatest linguistic complexity of Africa, the main body of the 'fragmentation belt' mentioned above. Whatever priorities are set, they will be insufficient to make a very deep dent in our understanding of the whole. It has been noted that a number of these countries (especially Senegal, Mali, Guinea, Niger, Ghana and Nigeria) have in them very active linguistic groups working on the languages of the area.

Priority in the western area should be considered for those languages with which UNESCO is working: Hausa, Tamasheq, Songhai, Fula and Bambara (Mandingo). Of these Hausa has had the most attention and there are considerable materials. A dialect survey would, however, be very useful.

The most important language of western West Africa is Mandingo, otherwise known as Manding, Bambara, Bamana, Maninka, Mandinka, Manya, Dyula, Khasonke, Wangara and Marka-Dafin (Bird 1970: 146). This is a dialect cluster, the mutual intelligibility of which has been studied by Long (1971 ; cf. Bird 197:148). The core or focal area of these dialects is Mali, and the spread from this core is to the northeast, east, south and west (not due north or northwest); see map, Bird 1970: 147). Due not only to the present importance of this language but to its increasing range, it should remain a priority, recognizing, of course, the existing tools of access (see Appendix 2, Bambara, Dyula, Mandinka).

Of the remaining three, Fula has had a good deal of work done on it. As Fula speakers are found from the west coast all the way over to Cameroon, it is clear that a dialect survey is a must. Based on that and consideration of existing materials further priorities may be set.

Very little has been done on Tamasheq and Songhai. Both should receive priority.

Wolof (Senegal, Gambia) has Basic Course materials but much more is needed, including a dialect survey. Work on Soninke (Gambia, Senegal) would be lower priority but it should be on a second list. Part of our needs have been met in Mende and Temne (Sierra Leone) but more could be profitably done.

Susu (Guinea) and Kpelle (Guinea, Liberia), both with some materials available, could be put on a secondary list.

For Ewe-Fon-Mina (Ghana, Togo, Dahomey) much in the way of existing materials needs further revision before publication. For such cases there could be minor contracts, perhaps in conjunction with another, major, project. The Fon and Mina, for example, were done largely by Gabriel Johnson. Further work on these materials should only be done with his cooperation and assistance. Otherwise, entirely new materials should be written.

The languages of Ghana and Nigeria present some of the greatest problems--from sheer numbers, and the greatest hope--from the amount of work being done on them. Despite these efforts there will remain areas of need best filled by us. While we can expect useful grammars, dictionaries and specialized studies, we cannot in general expect Basic Course and sequential teaching materials to suit our purposes.

As mentioned above, Adekunle's article on 'Multilingualism and language function in Nigeria' has much to offer in the way of establishing criteria for priorities. His profile of Nigeria in sociolinguistic terms should help us select languages in that country. Even here we must avoid

a mechanical application of a principle. If, using his classifications, we consider as priorities national languages used nation-wide, we would have no priorities--only English, French and pidgin.

As soon as we move to the inter-state level, we find his Class A (Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo), which have been priorities from the beginning. Class B languages are important for their area. Here his list of 'languages used at the initial stage of primary education' in the various states (192) is of great interest. These are Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo plus Igala (not classified), Idoma (B), Tiv (C), Edo (B), Ijo (B), Ishan (n.c.), Isoko (n.c.), Itsekiri (n.c.), Ora (n.c.), Urhobo (C), and Efik (B). Most of the ones Adekunle did not classify are in the Mid-West State. It is clear that we must make choices, not just list all languages so used as priorities. It has nevertheless proved a useful guide.

This work paper has not tried to replace the Welmers list with another list. This is rather the work of the conference itself. I has tried to present the problem and provide sufficient data and commentary to support fruitful discussion leading to a new, concrete, proposal.

5. Tools of access

The priorities for preparation of the tools of access listed in Fife-Nielsen (1961: 184) appear highly reasonable. A review of the literature on neglected languages since 1961 does not, in general, bear out this sequence of priorities. This is not the 'fault' of the Office of Education. It is, rather, that priorities in practice are based upon the exigencies of the moment, not upon reason. The pressure was to produce Basic Course materials which could be used in training people to speak the languages.

The preparation of these Basic Courses clearly showed that it would have been preferable to have followed the original priority sequence and to have prepared reference grammars first. We would do well, I think, to reaffirm the reference grammar as a basic priority.

It has also been emphasized, in several parts of this paper, that there is a prerequisite to the preparation of any of the formerly stated tools of access: a dialect/language survey to determine more precisely what variety of language is needed.

Dictionaries, Basic Courses, intermediate and advanced materials still remain, in my opinion, the most viable approach. I would argue, however, for a more closely defined relationship between the levels of teaching materials. A reader consisting of selections taken from available books and provided with a glossary is not my idea of either intermediate or advanced teaching materials. In general I would expect the text matter in both Basic Course and Intermediate Course to be written for those courses, with the needs, grammatical and cultural, of the student in mind. Advanced material should be organized culturally, with multiple channels of procedure and relevant notes.

It is to be expected that it will cost more to do the necessary work. It should; not because of inflation, but because sufficient time and travel should be built in to do the job well.

One may also add: Caveat emptor.

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APPENDIX 1

LIST OF SELECTED AFRICAN LANGUAGES
(generally 50,000 or more speakers)

COLUMNS INDICATE:

COLUMN NO.	DATA INDICATED IN EACH ENUMERATED COLUMN
1	NAME OF COUNTRY
2	POPULATION ESTIMATE
3	NUMBER OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN (those primarily spoken in country named)
4	MAJOR LANGUAGES 1. Official indigenous language(s) 2. Official international language 3. Other important language 4. lingua franca(s)
5	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF SPEAKERS, (_____T) indicates a total which includes the country named
6	CLASSIFICATION
7	ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION
8	SOURCE

6-75-1

For abbreviations see above for sources and below (following list) for classificatory ones.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Algeria	13,500,000						L
		14 (11)	1. Arabic	(50,000,000 T)	AF		G
			2. French		I		
			3.a. Shilha	(3,000,000 T)	AF		
			Riff	(1,000,000 T)			
			b. Kabyle	1,000,000			
			c. Tamasheq	(200-250,000 T)			
			d. Hoggar	10,000			
Angola	2,602,500	29 (19)					G
			2. Portuguese				V
			3.a. Umbundu, Benguella	1,700,000	BC		G
			b. Kongo	(1,400,000 T)			G
			c. Chokwe	(600,000 T)			
			d. Yaka	(200,000 T)			
			e. Mbundu, Loanda	110,000			
			f. Kwanyama	(100,000 T)			
			g. Mbwela	100,000			
			h. Lwena	(90,000 T)*			
			i. Lunda	(82,000 T)*			
			j. Luchazi	(60,000 T)			
Botswana	650,000		1. Tswana	585,000	BC	90	M
		17 (15)		(852,000 T)			G
			2. English				M
			3. Shona		BC	1	
			4. Tswana			99	

* But see Zambia

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Burundi	3,615,000						A
		3					V
			1. Rundi	3,240,000	BC	90	M
				3,700,000			G
			2. French				M
			3. Swahili			10	
Cameroon	5,736,000		2. French English				M
		183 (155)					G
			3.a. Bamum	75,000	BC		G
			b. Dandjoun	60,000			
			c. Bangangte (Bamileke)	475,000			
			(c)	1,480,000		27	M
			d. Basaa	150,000			
			e. Bene	60,000			
			f. Bitare	(50,000 T)			
			g. Boki	(85,000 T)			
			h. Bulu	110,000			
			i. Bura	(100,000 T)	AF		
			j. Chamba Daka	(70,000 T)	AE		
			k. Eton	112,000	BC		
			l. Ewondo (Yaunde)	93,000	BC		
			m. Fula	257,680	WA		
			n. Gbaya	190,000 (3,000,000 T)	AE		(M) G
			o. Gidar	50,000	AF		
			p. Higi	23,000 (203,000 T)	AF		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Cameroon (2)			3.q. Kaalong	50,000	BC		
			r. Kanuri	(2,500,000 T)	S		
			s. Limbum	50,000	BC		
			t. Maka	51,000	BC		
			u. Manja	(100,000 T)	AE		
			v. Masa	50,000	AF		
			w. Matakam	56,000	AF		
			x. Numuye	(250,000)	AE		
			y. Nso	100,000	BC		
			z. Tshang	100,000	BC		
			aa. Tupuri	(85,000 T)	AE		
Central African Republic	1,520,000		1. Sango	116,700	AE	7	M
			2. French				G
		(48)	3.a. Banda	200-321,000	AE		
				452,300		31	M
			b. Gbaya	423,100		29	
				(3,000,000 T)	AE		G
			c. Manja	124,000		8.5	M
				(100,000 T)	AE		G
			4. Sango	1,350,000 (1,500,000 T)	AE	25	M G
Chad	3,710,000		2. French				M
		97					G
		(69)	3.a. Arabic	1,570,000	AF	46	M
			b. Sara		CN		
			Gambai	200,000			G
			Mbai	73,000			V
			Majingai	47,000			G

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			3.c. Nilotic	324,000	NS	9.5	M
			Maba	56,000			G
			Masalit	200,000			
			d. Saharan	239,000	NS	7	M
			Kanembu	78,400		2.3	
				2,250			G
			Tubu	200,000			
				150,000		4.4	M
			4. Arabic			55	
			Sara			28	
Comoro Islands	271,000						A
		2 (0)	2. French				G
			3. Swahili				
Congo (Brazzaville)	940,000		2. French				M
		31 (23)					G
			3.a. Kongo (c)	400,000	BC	47	M
			b. Teke (c)	170,000		20	
			c. Mbosi	95,000		11	
			d. Mbete	60,000 (45,000 T)		7	G
			4. Lingala				M
			Kongo			52	
			Monokutuba				
			(kiKongo véhiculaire)				W
Dahomey	2,690,000		2. French				M
		40					V
			3.a. Fon	636,000		25.4	M
				836,000	KW		G
			Gun	302,000		12	M
				173,000	KW		G
			Aja	272,000	KW		M
			(Ewe d.)				V

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			Aizo	113,000		4.5	M
			Mina	71,000	KW	2.8	
			b. Bariba	240,000	G		G
			(Bargu)	309,000			M
			Somba	45-72,000	G		G
			(c)	145,000		5.7	M
			c. Yoruba	341,000	KW	13.6	
			4. Fon-Ewe			60	
Egypt	35,000,000		1. Arabic		AF		L
		5					G
			3. Kenuzi-Dongola	750,000 1,000,000	CN		G
			4. English French				X
Equatorial Guinea	250,000						A
			2. Spanish				V
Fernando Po		6	3. Pidgin				V
Rio Muni		15	3. Fang				V
				200,000	BC		G
Ethiopia	25,050,000		1. Amharic	7,030,000	AF	40	M
		92 (85)					G
			3.a. Galla	9,400,000		40	M
				3,000,000	AF		G
			b. Kafa-Sidamo (c)	2,100,000	AF	9	M
			Kefa	170,000			G
			Kembata	250,000			
			Konso	60,000			
			Walamo (c)	908,000			VV

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			c. Somali	1,400,000 (1,600,000 T)	AF	6	M G
			d. Afar	28,000 (363,000 T)	AF		
			Saho	121,000			
			4. Amharic			40	M
			Oromo (Galla)			50	
			Tigrinya				
			English				X
French Territory of the Afar and Issa	99,000						A
		4 (0)	2. French				G
			3. Afar				
			Arabic				
			Somali				
Gabon	500,000		2. French				M
		30					V
			3.a. Fang	141,000 (200,000 T)	BC	30	M G
				94,196			1964 G:
			b. Eshira	78,306			
			c. Mbete	63,105			
			4. Fang			50	M
Gambia	360,000						M
		10 (2)					G:
			1. Maninka (Mandingo)				B
				140,000	MA		M
			2. English				
			3.a. Fula	46,000	WA	13.5	
			b. Wolof	44,000	WA	13	
				100,000			G:
			c. Dyola	24,000	WA	7	M
			d. Soninke	22,000	MA	6.5	
			4. Mandingo			60	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ghana	8,545,561		1. English				M
		57 (50)					G
			3.a. Akan		KW		M
			Ashanti-Twi	2,296,000		28.2	
			Fante-Twi	912,000		11.2	
			b. Nzema	211,000	KW	2.6	
				190,000			G
			c. Anyi (c)	122,000	KW	1.5	M
				80,000			W
			d. Dagbani	300,000	GuR		G
			Dagari	201,680			
			More				M
			Frafra	138,000			VV
			Kusal	243,780			G
			Nankanse (Gurenne)	204,318			
			e. Ewe	1,058,000	KW	3.5	M
			f. Ga				
				285,000	KW	3.5	M
			Adangme	285,000		3.5	
			4. Hausa				
Guinea	3,290,000						M
		18 (8)					G
			1. All indigenous languages				B
			a. Maninka (Mandingo) (c)				M
				1,111,000		30	
				450,000	MA		G

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			b. Fula	1,037,000 1,500,000	WA	28	M G
			c. Susu	592,000 (392,000 T)	MA	16	M G
			d. Kissi	259,000	WA	7	M
			e. Loma	200,000 - 260,000	MA		G
			f. Kpelle	(250,000 T)	MA		G
			2. French				M
			4. Mandingo /Dyula				
			Fula				
			Susu				
Guinea-Bissau	487,448						A
		25	2. Portuguese				V
		22 (15)					G
			3.a. Balanta	154,000	WA		
			b. Crioulo (Portuguese Creole)	50,000	IC		
			c. Dyola	135,000 - 216,000	WA		
			d. Fula Cunda	(60,000 T)			
			e. Mandyak	85,000	WA		
			f. Maninka (Mandingo)	65,000	WA		
Ivory Coast	4,310,000		2. French				M
		58 (49)					G
			3.a. Baule	760,000	KW	19	M
			b. Anyi	236,000 185,000		6	G

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			c. Bete.	372,000		9.3	M
				275,000			G
			Western	195,000			
			Eastern	80 - 100,000			
			d. Maninka (Mandingo)	600,000		15	M
			e. Senari	300,000	GU		G
			4. Mandingo (Dyula)				M
Kenya	10,890,000						M
		75					V
			1. Swahili				X
			3.a. Kikuyu	1,890,000		19	M
				2,202,000	BC		G
			Kamba	1,094,000		11	M
				933,000			G
			Meru	497,000		5	M
				539,000			G
			Embu	100,000			M
				118,000			
			Tharaka	52,000			G
			b. Luhya /Luyia (c)	1,293,000		13	M
				1,453,000	BC		G
			Kisii /Gusii	597,000		6	M
				702,000			G
			Masaba	253,000			
			c. Ragoli	250,000			
			Taita	108,000			
			Kuria	68,000			
			d. Luo	1,393,000		14	M
				1,522,000	CN		G
			e. Kalenjin	800,000	CN		G
			Pokot	170,000			
			Maasai	210,000			
			Nandi	261,969			
			Turkana	203,000			
			Kipsigis	160,000			
			Teso	86,000			
			Adhola	160,000			
			f. Galla	83,000	AF		
			4. Swahili English			65	M

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Lesotho	1,040,000		1. Sotho	734,600	BC	95	M
				(3,000,000 T)			G
			2. English				M
			3.a. Zulu		BC	1	M
			b. "Ku"e		K		G
Liberia	1,170,000		2. English				M
		24 (17)	3.a. Kpelle	230,000	MA	21	G M
			Dan (Gio)	91,000		8	
			Mano	78,000		7	
			Loma	58,000		5	
			b. Bassa	180,000	KW	16	
			Kru	87,000		8	
				150,000			G
			Grebo	84,000		8	M
			Krahn	57,000		5	
			c. Gola-Kissi	88,000	WA	8	
			Gola	47,000 (150,000 T)			G
			Kissi	35,000 (240,000 T)			
			d. Vai	29,000 (96,000 T)		3	
Malagasy (Madagascar)	7,200,000						L
			1. Malagasy				
			2. French				
Malawi	4,530,000		2. English				M
		12 (5)					G
			3.a. Chewa	2,500,000	BC		
				1,156,000		28	M
			Nyanja	619,000 (1,000,000 T)		15	G

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			b. Ngulu (Lomwe)	784,000		19	M
			c. Yao	578,000 (3,400 T)		14	G
			d. Ngoni	371,000		9	M
			e. Tumbuka	247,000		6	
			4. Nyanja			51	
Mali	5,020,000						M
		23 (11)					G
			1. a. Bambara		MA		M
				1,471,000		31	
			Malinke	251,000		5	
			(Maninka)	135,000			G
				(1,200,000 T)			
			Dyula	303,000		6	M
			b. Fula	949,000		20	
				450,000	WA		G
			c. Sonrai (Songhai)	289,000		6	
				125,127	SO		G
			d. Tamasheq (Touareg)	303,000 (300,000 T)	AF	6	M G
			2. French				M
			3. a. Senufo				
			Suppire	300,000	GU		G
			b. Soninke	(300,000 T)	MA		
			c. Arabic		AF		
			4. Bambara			50	M
Mauritania	1,170,000						M
		5 (1)					G
			1. Arabic	902,000	AF	82	M
			2. French		I		
			3. a. Fula		WA	13	
			Tukulor	88,000			
			Fula	55,000			

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			b. Soninke	22,000 (300,000 T)	MA		G
			4. Arabic			87	M
Mauritius	830,606						L
		2 (1)					G
			2. English				
			3. Mauritius Creole	639,000			
Morocco	15,153,086						L
		5 (4)					G
			1. Arabic		AT		
			3.a. Riff	(1,000,000 T)			
			b. Shilha	(3,000,000 T)			
			c. Tamazight				
			4. Arabic				
Mozambique	8,233,834						A
		23 (13)					G
			2. Portuguese				V
			3.a. Tsonga (Thonga)	1,500,000	BC		G
			b. Kunda	100,000			
			c. Makua	100,000			
			d. Matengo	58,000			
			e. Maviha	(70,000 T)			
			f. Ngulu	(440,000 T)			
			g. Nyungwe	700,000			
			h. Ronga	(1,000,000 T)			
			i. Sena	(200,000 T)			
			j. Shona	(1,500,000 T)			
			k. Tswa	(500,000 T)			
			l. Yao				

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Niger	4,020,000						M
		14 (5)					G
			1.a. Hausa				B
			b. Songhai				
			c. Tomasheq				
			a. Hausa	1,631,000	AF	46	M
			b. Songhai (c)	674,000	SO	19	
			-Dyerma	175,000			G
				429,030		16.4	1963 N
			-Songhai	93,000			G
				187,510		7.2	1963 N
			c. Tomasheq	(200-250,000 T)	AF		G
			—	355,000		10	M
				54,450		2.1	1963 N
			2. French		I		M
			3.a. Fula	461,000	WA	13	
				277,900		10.6	1963 N
			b. Buduma	94,540	AF	3.6	
			c. Kanuri	144,040	S	5.5	
			4. Hausa			70	M
Nigeria	55,070,000		1. Hausa(in N.)	15,370,000	AF	29	M
		513 (494)		3,500,000 (25,000,000 T)			G
			2. English		I		M
			3.a. Andoni	70,000	BC		G
			b. Angas	100,000	AF		
			c. Ankwai	80,000	AF		
			d. Bariba	55,000 (240,000 T)	GU		
			e. Bassa-Komo	100,000	BC		
			f. Bedde	100,000	AF		
			g. Bini	430,000	KW		
			h. Birom	116,000	BC		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			i. Boki	(87,000 T)	BC		
			j. Buduma	80,000	AF		
			k. Bura	100,000	AF		
			l. Buron	50,000	AF		
			m. Chamba Daka	(70,000 T)	AE		
			n. Dakarkari	69,000	BC		
			o. Dyerma	50,000	SO		
			p. Efik + Ibibio	ca 2,000,000	BC		
			q. Eggon	60,000	BC		
			r. Ekoi	100,000	BC		
			s. Eza	180,000	KW		
			t. Fula		WA		
			u. Gambai	(200,000 T)	CN		
			v. Gbari Ngenge (c)	155,000	KW		
			w. Gokana	54,000	BC		
			x. Gude	40-80,000	AF		
			y. Higi	180,000 (203,000 T)	AF		
			z. Idoma (c)	300,000	KW		
			aa. Igala	350,000	KW		
			bb. Igbirra	325,000	KW		
			cc. Igbo	9,000,000 9,180,000	KW	17	M
			dd. Ijo (c)	250,000	KW		
			ee. Ikwerre	200,000 (?)	KW		
			ff. Ikwo	150,000	KW		
			gg. Ishan	200,000	KW		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			hh. Isoko	200,000	KW		
			ii. Jaba	60,000	BC		
			jj. Kambari	100,000	BC		
			kk. Kana	90,000	BC		
			ll. Kanuri	(2,500,000 T)	S		
			mm. Kilba	80,000	AF		
			nn. Mambila	60,000 (80,000 T)	BC		
			oo. Mandara	15,500 (190,000 T)	AF		
			pp. Marghi C.	80,000	AF		
			qq. Mbembe	60,000	BC		
			rr. Mumuye	(250,000 T)	AE		
			ss. Ngbo	63,000	KW		
			tt. Nupe	750,000	KW		
			uu. Rukuba	50,000	BC		
			vv. Saya(nchi)	50,000	AF		
			ww. Shuwa Arabic	100,000	AF		
			xx. Tangale	100,000	AF		
			yy. Tiv	1,000,000	BC		
			zz. Urhobo-Okpe-Isoko	340,000	KW		
			ab. Wapan	60,000	BC		
			bb. Yakurr	100,000	BC		
			cb. Yala	50,000	KW		
			db. Yergam	60,000	BC		
			eb. Yoruba	8,000,000	KW		
				10,800,200		20	M
			4. Hausa			50	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)	5,690,000						A
		24 (12)					G
			2. English				V
			3.a. Shona	1,262,870	BC		G
			b. Afrikaans	3,000,000	IE		
			c. Kalanga	86,100	BC		
			d. Karanga	753,740			
			e. Korekore	144,020			
			f. Kunda	92,480			
			g. Manyika	348,350			
			h. Ndau	178,000			
			i. Ndebele	706,750			
			j. Nyanja	251,800			
			k. Tonga	60,260			
			l. Tswa	(500,000 T)			
			m. Zezuru	650,460			
Rwanda	3,590,000		1. Rwanda			90	
		3 (2)		2,300,000-3,800,000	BC		G
			2. French				
			4. Rwanda			90	M
			Swahili			10	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Senegal	3,780,000						M
		30					V
		22 (13)					G
			1. Fula Malinke Wolof				B
			Fula	281,000	WA		G
			(+3e)	550,000		15	M
			Malinke	208,400	MA		G
			(Mandingo)	257,000		7	M
			Wolof	1,437,600	WA		G
				643,000			
				1,358,000		37	M
			2. French				
			3.a. Serere-Sine	587,000 300,000-630,000	WA	16	G
			b. Balanta	49,200			
			c. Dyola	123,000-216,000			
			d. Seure-	70,000			
			e. Non Toucouleur	464,700			
			4. Wolof			60	M
Sierra Leone	2,550,000		2. English				M
		35					V
			3.a. Mende	756,000	MA	31	M
				586,000			G
			b. Temne	731,000	WA	30	M
				500,000+			G
			c. Bullom, N.	167,000	WA		
			d. Gola	150,000	WA		
			e. Kono	(112,000T)	MA		
			f. Krio	40,000+	IC		
			g. Limba	175,000	WA		
			h. Loko	(76,000T)	MA		
			i. Maninka		MA		
			j. Susu		MA		
			k. Vai	(96,000T)	MA		
			l. Fula	66,824			1963 N
			4. Krio Mende French				M

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Somalia	2,790,000		1. Somali	2,534,000	AF	95	M
		6					X
				1,600,000			G
			Arabic				
			2. English		I		M
			Italian		I		M
			3. Afar	(363,000T)	AF		G
			4. Somali			97	M
			Swahili			3	
South Africa	21,450,000						
		35	1. Afrikaans				M
		(13)		(3,000,000T)	I		V
							G
			2. English				V
			3.a. Nguni		BC		
			Zulu	2,500,000			G
			Xhosa	2,500,000			
			b. Ronga	(1,000,000T)			
			c. Sotho, N.	(500,000T)			
			Sotho, S.	(3,000,000T)			
			d. Swazi	(1,250,000T)			
			e. Tsonga	750,000			
			(Thonga)				
			f. Tsvana	(852,000T)			
			g. Venda	(150,000T)			
South West Africa (Namibia)	746,328						A
			1. Afrikaans		I		V
		35	2. English				
			3.a. Ovambo	100,000	BC		G
			b. Ndonga	352,000			
Spanish Sahara	59,973 +16,299Eur.						A
			2. Spanish				
			3.a. Arabic		AF		A
			b. Berber				

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sudan	15,700,000		1. Arabic	7,378,000	AF	51	M
		133 (107)					G
			3.a. Acholi	440,000	CN		G
			b. Bari	(225,000T)	CN		
			c. Beja	(100,000)	AF		
			d. Dinka	1-2,000,000	CN		
			e. Fur	170,000	FU		
			f. Kakwa	50,000	CN		
			g. Kenuzi-	750,000	CN		
			Dongola	1,000,000			
			h. Logo	54,000	CN		
			i. Lotuko	66,000	CN		
			j. Maba	56,000	MB		
			k. Madi	120,000	CN		
			l. Masalit	100,000	MB		
			m. Nuer, W.	260 000	CN		
				-350,000T			
			n. Shilluk	110,000	CN		
			o. Tama	60,000	CN		
			p. Thuri	154,000	CN		
			q. Zande	(7000,000T)	AE		
			4. Arabic				M
Swaziland	359,138						A
		2 (1)					G
			2. English				
			3. Swazi	(1,230,000T)	BC		
Tanzania	13,270,000		1. Swahili	636,000	BC	5	M
		113 (105)	2. English				
			3.a. Bena	150,000	BC		
			b. Chagga	237,000			
			c. Fipa	78,000			
			d. Gogo	280,000			
				438,000		4	M
			e. Ha	286,000			G
				470,000		4	M
			f. Hangaza	54,000			G
			g. Haya	276,000			
				438,000		4	M
			h. Hehe	192,000			G
			i. Iraqw	103,000	AF		
			j. Jinja	66,000	BC		
			k. Jita	71,000			
			l. Kagula	59,000			
			m. Kami	180,000			
			n. Kinga	57,000			
			o. Kuria	68,000			

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			p. Langi	95,000			
			q. Luo	1,522,000	CN		
				/ 800,000			
			r. Maasai	200,000	CN		
			s. Makonde	281,000	BC		
			t. Matengo	58,000	BC		
			u. Maviha	70,000			
			v. Meru	559,000			
			w. Mosi	240,000			
			x. Mwera	110,000			
			y. Ndali	57,000			
			z. Ndengereko	53,000			
			aa. Ngindo	85,000			
			bb. Ngoni	85,000			
			cc. Nilamba	210,000			
			dd. Nyakyusa	193,000			
			ee. Nyamwezi	363,000			
				584,000		5	M
			ff. Nyaturu	182,000			G
			gg. Nyiha	64,000			
			hh. Pare	99,000			
			ii. Pogolo	65,000			
			jj. Ruihi	71,000			
			kk. Rungi	95,000			
			ll. Rusha	54,000			
			mm. Shambala	152,000			
			nn. Subi	74,000			
			oo. Sukuma	895,000			
				1,411,000		11	M
			pp. Sumbwa	64,000			G
			qq. Zaramo	174,000			
			rr. Zigwa	112,000			
			4.Swahili			88	M

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Togo	1,955,916		2. French				M
		(37 (26)					G
			3.a. Ewe	(1,000,000 T)	KW		
				753,000		44	M
			b. Kabre	241,000		14	
				35,000	GU		G
			c.Bariba	240,000	GU		
			d.(Bi)moba	70,000	GU		
			e.Fo	30,000	KW		G
				(836,000 T)			
			f.Gurma	(127,000 T)	GU		
				76,000		5	M
			g.Hausa	3,000	AF		G
			h.Kotokoli	75-135,000	GU		
			i.Naoudem	27-90,000	GU		
			4.Ewe			50	M
			Hausa				
Tunisia			1.Arabic 2.French				
		(2) (1)					G
			3.Tmagourt-Sened-Jerba (Berber)		AF		
			4.Arabic				
Uganda	9,760,000		2.English				M
		51 (31)					G
			3.a. Ganda	1,630,000	BC		
				1,270,000		16	M
			b. Acholi	350,000		4	
				440,000	CN		G
			c. Adhola	160,000	CN		
			d. Alur	190,000	CN		
				150,000		1.9	M
			e. Bari	60,000	CN		G
				(226,000 T)			
			f. Chiga	272,000	BC		
			(Kiga)	560,000		7	M
			g. Gwere	170,000	BC		G
			h. Haya	(276,000 T)	BC		
			i. Jinja	(66,000 T)	BC		
			j. Karamojong	200,000	CN		
			k. Kumam	100,000	CN		
			l. Kupsabiny	60,000	CN		
			m. Lango	560,000	CN		
			(Lwo)	440,000		6	M

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			n. Lendu	(110-250,000 T)	CN		G
			o. Lugbara	(192,000 T)	CN		
				390,000		5	M
			p. Madi	120,000	CN		
			q. Masaba	(510,000)	BC		
			(Gisu)	405,000		5.1	M
			r. Nyankole	610,000	BC	8	
			s. Nyoro	230,000	BC	2.9	
			t. Toro	255,000	BC	3.2	
			u. Nyuli	140,000	BC		G
			v. Pokot	(170,000)	CN		
			w. Rukonjo	170,000	BC		
				135,000		1.7	M
			x. Rwamba	60,000	BC		G
			y. Soga	780,000	BC		
				610,000		8	M
			z. Teso	830,000	CN		G
				640,000		8	M
			4. Ganda			33	
			Swahili			20	
Upper Volta	5,380,000						M
		43 (33)					G
			1. More Fula Sonrai				B
			More	2,542,000	GU	50	M
			Fula	313,000		6	
				250,000	WA		G
			Songhai (Sonrai)	(350-450,000 T)	SO		
			2. French				M
			3.a. Bambara	1,000,000	MA		G
			(Dyula)	880,000		16	M
			b. Birifo	(90,000 T)	GU		G
			c. Bisa	(127,000 T)	MA		
			(Busansi)	242,000		5	M
			d. Bobo-	23,000	GU		G
			Wule	(389,000 T)			
			e. Dagari	150,000	GU		
			f. Dogon	(149,000 T)	GU		
			g. Fula-	250,000	WA		
			Macina	313,000		6	M
			h. Gurunsi	(200,000 T)	GU		G
			i. Gurma	250,000	GU		
				275,000		5	M
			j. Kasem	80,000	GU		G
			k. Kurumba	86,000	GU		
			l. Kusal	(122,000 T)	GU		
			m. Bele	61,000	GU		
			n. Lobi	180,000	GU		
			o. Samo, N	120,000	MA		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			4. More (Mossi)				
Zaire	21,637,876						M
		206 (176)					G
			1.a.Kongo (c) lg.	5,560,000 (1,500,000)	BC	34	M G
			b.Luba	1,960,000 3,000,000	BC	12	M G
			c.Lingala	1,200,000	BC		
			d.Swahili, Congo	2,500,000	BC		
			2. French				M
			3.a.Alur	(200,000 T)	CN		G
			b.Banda	(200-321,000 T)	AE		
			c.Bari	(225,000 T)	CN		
			d.Bemba	(200,000 T)	BC		
			e.Bembe	50,000	BC		
			f.Binji	64,000	BC		
			g.Budu	83,000	BC		
			h.Buja	100,000	BC		
			i.Chokwe	(600,000 T)	BC		
			j.Fuliro	56,000	BC		
			k.Gbaya	(3,000,000 T)	AE		
			l.Havu	262,000	BC		
			m.Kela	50,000	BC		
			n.Kituba	1,500,000	BC		
			o.Kumu	60,000	BC		
			p.Kwese	60,000	BC		
			q.Lala	60,000	BC		
			r.Lamba	(60-70,000 T)	BC		
			s.Lendu	(110-250,000 T)	CN		
			t.Logo	54,000	CN		
			u.Lugbara	(114,000 T)	CN		
			v.Luna	50,000	BC		
			w.Luntu	100,000	BC		
			x.Mangbetu	100,000	CN		
			y.Mbanja	72-81,000	BC		
			z.Mbole	100,000	BC		
			aa.Mongo	216,000	BC		
			bb.Ngando	121,000	BC		
			cc.Ngbandi	137,000	AE		
			dd.Ngombe	150,000	BC		
			ee.Sakata	70,000	BC		
			ff.Salampasu	60,000	BC		
			gg.Shu	65,000	BC		
			hh.Suku	74,000	BC		
			ii.Swaga	121,000	BC		
			jj.Teke, E.	71,000	BC		
			kk.Yaka	(200,000 T)	BC		
			ll.Zimba	50,000	BC		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			4.a. Kongo				M
			b. Swahili			25	
			c. Luba				
			d. Lingala			25	
Zambia	4,300,000		2. English				M
		34 (24)					G
			3.a.Aushi	200,000	BC		
			b.Bemba	599,000		15	M
				(1,000,000 T)			G
			c.Bisa	83,000			
			d.Chewa	500,000			
			e.Kaonde	116,000			
			f.Lala	(163,000 T)			
			g.Lamba	(101,000 T)			
			h.Luchazi	(60,000 T)			
				96,000			
			i.Lunda	102,000			
			(c)	355,000		9	M
			j.Luvana	50,000			G
			(c)	173,000			M
			k.Lwena	(96,000 T)			G
			l.Mambwe-Lungu	121,000			
			(c)	209,000			M
			m.Mwanga	(88,000 T)			G
			n.Nsenga	207,000			
			o.Nyanja (c)	572,000		15	M
				(1,000,000 T)			G
			p.Nyiha	59,000 T			
			q.Tonga	(447,000 T)			
			(c)	481,000			M
			r.Tumbuka	118,000			
				190,000			G

CLASSIFICATORY ABBREVIATIONS

AE Adamawa-Eastern (Niger Kordofanian)

AF Afroasiatic

BC Benue-Congo

CN Chari-Nile (Eastern Sudanic)

GU Gur (Niger Kordofanian)

I Indo-European (Indo-Hittite)

IC Indo-European Creole

IN Indonesian (Austronesian)

K Khoisan

KW Kwa (Niger Kordofanian)

MA Mande (Niger Kordofanian)

MB Maban (Nilo-Saharan)

S Saharan (Nilo-Saharan)

SO Songhai (Nilo-Saharan)

WA West Atlantic (Niger Congo)

Appendix 2

Grammars, dictionaries, and teaching materials for African languages, 1965-1974

pp. 1-12 Languages on Welmers' list (Neglected Languges Conference, 1961)

pp. 13-17 Other languages

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